2: Hicksbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

CHAPTER TWO

Early Days

"ARRIVED at Aden at 4 p.m. The place is not as I had expected and I found I had forgotten all about it. It looked just like a penal settlement and the nearer one got the more unprepossessing the place became"; such was the entry in my diary for October 4th, 1931.

It was the normal reaction of most people who see Aden from the deck of a ship at the tail end of the summer, and, like most people, I knew very little about the town, less about the Protectorate, and nothing at all about the history of the place.

The first authentic recorded mention of Aden is to be found in the Bible at the 23rd verse of the 27th Chapter of Ezekiel, where it is written: "Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Asshur and Chilmad, were thy merchants." When I read this verse I was puzzled by the rendering of Aden as "Eden", and I examined my Arabic version of the Scriptures and was reassured by finding that the word "Eden" was spelt in precisely the same way as it is written in Arabic today. If additional evidence of the identity of this "Eden" with Aden is required, it is to be found in the very next verse which runs as follows: "These were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes . . ." The reference is to the indigo impregnated cloth which is still worn by very many of the inhabitants of the Protectorate and was a common sight in the Colony a few years ago.

The early history of Aden is difficult to piece together, consisting as it does of travellers' tales and records, some undoubtedly true, but others of dubious authenticity, but the one

Z: Bickinbotham G-4, 9 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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undeniable fact is that Aden's importance in the past, and important it was, was due as it is today to its magnificent harbour. Curiously enough the harbour was, in bygone days, on the east side of the peninsula in what are now known as Front Bay and Holkat Bay. It was not until the middle of the last century that the present harbour on the west side was surveyed and brought into use as Front Bay gradually silted up and Holkat Bay, never a safe anchorage, was abandoned.

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The prosperity and the wealth of Aden as a trading centre has always attracted the envious attention of the rulers of the Yemen be they Himyarites or Sabeans, as they were at the beginning of the Christian era, or Abyssinians, as they were five hundred years later when the Persians in their turn invaded that country, or Turks, as they have been twice during the last thousand years, or just plain Yemenis, as they are today. I do not propose at this stage to consider past and present relations between Aden and the Yemen; they will become apparent as my story unfolds.

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The Imams of the Yemen were not alone in their wish to control the destiny of Aden. The Portuguese were the first European nation who attempted to establish themselves in the town. This they did on Easter Day in 1513 when Don Alphonso d' Albuquerque, who had arrived from Goa the previous day with a fleet of twenty ships, landed over a thousand soldiers with scaling ladders to storm the fortifications. The attempt failed, and after a four-day siege, during which Don Alphonso's men succeeded only in capturing an outwork and some thirty or forty pieces of ordnance, the troops were withdrawn and after commanding the town in a fit of temper Don Alphonso sailed away up the Red Sea.

Three years later the Mamelukke Sultan of Egypt sent his Commander, Rais Soleiman, to take the town by assault, but the attempt failed. The fortifications of Aden were so damaged, however, that the Governor was prepared to surrender the place to the Portuguese when they appeared on the scene again later in the same year. They had other preoccupations at the time and refused the offer, only to find later when they again returned that the fortifications had been repaired and the

L: Birkbeck College G.4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

Governor to go round to see with them. The Portuguese had to wait nearly fifty years before the inhabitants of Aden, weary of Turkish rule, handed the town over to them. The Turks had captured Aden by treachery in 1538. They arrived in a fleet of ships and landed a number of sick men who were carried ashore and accommodated in the town. Then they invited the Governor to visit the flagship. He did so and was promptly seized and hung. At the same time the sick men in the town were extraordinarily restored to health, rose from their beds as able-bodied soldiers and with little trouble the wily Turks were in control. 175 ● 648

The Portuguese remained in Aden for a few months only, before being forced to surrender the town in 1551 to the Captain of Egypt; in other words, the Turks were back in possession again and it was during this Turkish period of control that British ships first came on the Aden scene, when Captain Starkey in the *Ascension*, a ship of the East India Company, paid a visit and was well received.

The Turks withdrew from Aden in the first half of the seventeenth century, and Aden was free from invasion from the sea for approximately two hundred years until, in fact, we came on the Aden scene again and Aden became what it still is today, a British possession.

By 1839 the greatness that had been Aden's had disappeared and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy, the leader of the expedition which secured the town for the British Crown and who was to become the first Resident, has left on record his first impression of the place:

"The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine this town possessed unrivalled celebrity for its impregnable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious rest it afforded to vessels from all quarters of the globe. How lamentable is the present contrast."[1]

[1] Hunter's *Statistical Account of the British Settlement of Aden*, 1877, p. 189.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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[312] That Aden still possessed some fine buildings even as late as 1700 we know from the record left by a French traveller who, after referring to the "handsome" aqueduct which had been built originally in 1300 to bring water into the town from Sheikh Othman ten miles away, and deploring the state of the fortifications, referred to the town in the following terms:

[342] [349] [368] [582] "The city is still considerably large and one may still see several handsome houses two storeys high with flat roofs, but there is also an abundance of rubbish and ruins. It must be owned that there is nothing finer of its kind than the baths there. They are lined with marble or jasper and covered with a handsome dome, having a hole at the top to let in light, and adorned on the inside with galleries supported by magnificent pillars."[1]

178 368 346 There was no sign of this delightful place when I arrived, nor were there any public baths, swimming or otherwise, until twenty-four years later when I opened the handsome Municipal Swimming Bath in Holkat Bay, but by 1931 Aden was by no means in an "exigent condition of poverty and neglect". Far from it; it was a flourishing town, though all that remained of the ancient splendour was the tall white minaret in Crater overlooking what is now the Football Stadium. A lonely ghost from the past whose mosque has long since disappeared.

000 My disagreeable first impression remains with many travellers for the rest of their lives and the mere mention of the name Aden is sufficient to conjure up in their imaginations an exaggerated recollection of heat, haze and noise and, above all, a barrenness beyond belief.

312 In the early nineteen-thirties fresh water from wells in the village of Sheikh Othman had only recently been brought in to the main town and the population were still dependent mainly on condensed water for drinking purposes, and there was virtually no water at all for gardens or any other form of

000 cultivation. Only a few like myself succeeded in penetrating the haze and forgetting the lack of vegetation and the discomfort of prickly heat, as we became more and more absorbed with the people and their problems and travelled beyond the

[1] Dr. J. C. Young, *Ancient History of Aden*, 1915.

Z: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

361 133 passengers from ships) and Ma'alla are built on the northern and western slopes of Jebel Shamsan, the highest peak of the volcanic range of hills surrounding Crater. Jebel Shamsan is quite a presentable hill, for it is just over 1,700 ft. in height and was at one time adorned with a signal station.

361 133 132 508 707 361 647 648 The isthmus which joins Aden to the mainland is called Khormaksar and is as flat as the proverbial pancake. During the monsoon winds of summer it is a hellish place of drifting sand and it is here that the Royal Air Force have their station; the military and civil airport are also here. Close by the airport are the houses of the more senior civil and military officials and a few ordinary folk, who are, on the whole, much better paid than the officials, but of course not nearly so important. Originally there were only two rows of houses, one of brown houses and the other of white houses, and since they were inhabited mainly by officials, they were, not unnaturally, known as Downing Street and Whitehall. Now there are rows and rows of houses, all variations of the usual colonial box theme in architecture, incredibly ugly but reasonably comfortable, but I am glad to say Whitehall and Downing Street are still the really fashionable roads.

361 351 361 648 175 At the northern and land end of the isthmus there is the town of Sheikh Othman with its pleasant gardens so well known to many tourists. Sheikh Othman was also, until quite recently, well known in a less desirable way to visitors and residents alike, but in modern times morals seem to have improved, and while the gardens have been enlarged, the other attractions have been reduced. The town was not acquired by any splendid feat of arms, but by a purely commercial transaction. It was bought from the Sultan of Lahej in 1882. Aden, on the other hand, was invested in 1839 by an armed expedition from India, carried in ships of the Indian Navy. The reason for this expedition is said to have been to punish an outrage which had occurred when the crew of an English ship wrecked on the coast near Aden were maltreated. In point of fact the probabilities are that the reason for our somewhat drastic action was because we wished to control the only good harbour between India and Egypt and use it as a coaling station

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 M341 Aden M341

for our ships. As negotiations with the Lahej Sultan, who then owned the Aden Peninsula, had broken down, the deadlock was solved by force. The original owner of Little Aden was the Akrabi Sheikh, a quite unimportant person whose minute territory is surrounded on three sides by his infinitely larger and more powerful neighbour Lahej. Whether or not the Akrabi Sheikh was entitled to sell is a matter which has occupied the minds of the Sultans of Lahej from time to time even up to the present day, but sell the Sheikh did in 1881 and buy we did, and that for all practical purposes is that.

Aden has been safe from foreign aggression since we ourselves filled that role in 1839, except for a brief period during the First World War when a part of what is now the Colony was occupied by Turkish forces. This rather curious state of affairs came about in this way: Lahej, the name usually given to the capital of the Sultanate of the same name, the premier of all the Protectorate States by virtue of the importance of that State combined with the fact that the Lahej Treaty was the first to be concluded in the year 1839, is only some 17 miles to the n-n-e of Sheikh Othman. In 1915 the Turkish wolf came down on the Aden fold by way of the donkey-cum-camel tracks from Taiz in the Yemen. The then Sultan of Lahej, a good friend of ours, marched against the common foe with what tribesmen he could rally to his banner and at the same time he very properly called on the General Officer Commanding the Aden Garrison for assistance. In Aden there was, of course, tremendous excitement as a column was hastily organized and assembled at Sheikh Othman. It was the most ill-fated column that ever set out; there were inevitable delays at the start, with the result that the troops did not begin their advance until the sun was well up. It was the height of summer and the 17 miles across which they had to move on foot were sandy and devoid of practically all forms of cover. The water for the column was carried on camels; the camels ran away shortly after the start. Whether this was of their own volition or whether they were encouraged to do so by treacherous drivers is a matter of opinion, for no records of that disastrous march are known to exist. The troops continued their advance and they went on

E: Birkinhotham G-4, 9 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MMI Aden MMI

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over the hot sand, some of them to their death from heat exhaustion and thirst, but most of them did, in fact, arrive at the date palm groves of the Lahej Oasis. Many more would have failed and died but for the European merchants of Aden, who, obtaining ice from the ice factories in the town, sent it out in Ford cars after the column. The cars stuck in the sand, but mercifully not all in the same place, so that many of those who failed to complete the march and turned back found ice to sustain them at intervals across the desert until once again they were able to reach Sheikh Othman. As I have said, the majority of the column did reach Lahej and with it was an officer of my acquaintance who was one of the only two members of the Garrison who had ever been there before this disastrous military adventure. One day, twenty years later, as he and I drove together to Lahej to a lunch party being given by the Sultan, he pointed to a small clump of thorn bushes under which, on that memorable day, he had crawled to escape from the heat of the sun, utterly exhausted. He told me that when he had partially recovered he thought to himself: "If I stay here I shall certainly be shot as a deserter. If I try and go on I may die, but on the other hand I may get there." So choosing the uncertainty in preference to the certainty he did go on and he reached Lahej.

Those of the column who did get through were hastily reorganized and were disposed to meet the advancing Turks. By one of those odd changes of climate which occur in the tropics it poured with rain that night and it was indeed a miserable remnant of the column that saw the sunrise the next day. At daylight the troops moved forward through the northern limits of the Oasis and out on to the plain that leads up to the foothills to make contact with the Sultan's force, which they knew to be engaged with the enemy. The Sultan himself came riding back to meet these British reinforcements and to inform them of the enemy's dispositions and of those of his own soldiers. He met them. It was the last thing he ever did. They shot him dead. They thought he was a Turk, and then, without coming to grips with the Turkish forces at all, they turned back whence they had come, back all the way to

2: Hirbirbutham C-6, 9 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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Aden. The Turks occupied Lahej as they had already occupied the territories of the Hawshabi Sultan and the Amir of Dhala, two Protectorate rulers whom the British Government had undertaken to defend. They advanced to Turkish Odeinan and they occupied the whole of the northern side of the harbour, even the Little Aden headland.

I have never understood why the combatants never fired at each other across the harbour. Maybe the Turks had no guns, or if they had, they were not powerful enough, or perhaps the guns of the fortress could not be trained away from the sea like those of an even greater fortress in a later and greater war. Whatever the reason, the fact remains that neither side seems to have made any effort to interfere with the other.

When I first knew the Residency, as Government House used to be called, there was mounted on the northern verandah overlooking the sea an enormous brass telescope beneath which a wooden table stood on which had been cut bearing lines on to the Turkish position on the north side of the harbour. The General Officer Commanding, who, at that time, was also the Resident, could thus with the least inconvenience to himself examine the enemy's position when he had finished his breakfast and before he applied his mind to greater things. The telescope still remains at Government House, though unfortunately the range table has disappeared.

The Turks remained in Turkish Odeinan until eventually the General, another General this time, hastened himself and marched against them; then they retreated to Lahej and they remained there until 1918 when Turkey was out of the war, and then they surrendered. Rude people say that the military authorities were induced finally to take belligerent action by the Committee of the Khormaksar Golf Club. The Golf Club's course, unfortunately, lay between the Turks and the British, and this was highly inconvenient to the members, so their representatives are said to have waited upon the General and pointed out that in the circumstances then prevailing golf was more exciting than comfortable. This tale may well be false and is certainly exaggerated, but there is no doubt: whatsoever that there was a certain lack of initiative in the conduct of the

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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military authorities throughout this episode in the history of the Colony.

In my early days in Aden, government was comparatively simple. The Resident, who was the senior civil official and *ex-officio* Commander-in-Chief, drove down to his office in Tawahi every morning from the Residency to deal with routine affairs and see anyone who cared to call on him. All were welcome, from the more senior departmental officers to the humblest of the humble of the subjects of His Majesty. Sir Bernard Reilly, who then held that position, had an amazing capacity for work and for play, and he succeeded in remaining outwardly completely unruffled even when dealing with important operations in the Protectorate which involved that much discussed topic, bombing, or when provoked by the Governments of both India and Bombay who invariably treated Aden as if it was a small town in the Bombay Presidency. Such was his conduct in public, but in private I have known him to express his views both freely and frankly.

In addition to the Resident there were four of us in the Secretariat, Gordon[1] of the Indian Political Service, who was the First Assistant Resident, Champion[2] of the Colonial Service, who was the Political Secretary, Lake,[3] the one and only Political Officer, and myself. I acted as Second Assistant Resident, in addition to my other duties at the Residency itself where I was a glorified A.D.C. Champion and Lake ran the Protectorate between them with the help of the head interpreter, Khan Bahadur Mohammed Salim Ali, an elderly gentleman with a Mongolian caste of countenance, who sat in a particularly small room under the stairs surrounded by papers, smoking a very bubbly water pipe, with his turban-like headdress on the back of his head or resting among the files, depending upon the heat of the room and his own degree of irritation. He had a remarkably hoarse voice and wore a pair of spectacles on the end of his nose, over which he peered at the crowd of Sheikhs, tribesmen and hangers-on, all wanting something and

[1] Now Lt.-Colonel J. de la H. Gordon, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C.
[2] Now Sir Reginald Champion, K.C.M.G., O.B.E.
[3] Lt.-Colonel M. C. Lake, C.M.G. (dec.).

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 9 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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maximum height of 8,000 ft., and the plains range in height from that of Dhala in the west, which is 4,500 ft., to that of the Audhali plateau in the centre, which is 6,750 ft. Thereafter the mountains and plains decrease in height the farther north they go until nothing remains but the great central Arabian desert, the Rub-al-Khali with an average height of 2,500 ft.

Over in the east the coastal plain rapidly gives way to the great Plateau of the Jol, a tableland deeply cut by rifts and valleys, the greatest of which is the famous Wadi Hadhramaut in the north. Thereafter the tableland ends abruptly and then begins the northern plain which runs up to the southern limits of the great sand dunes of the central desert.

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The full history of South-west Arabia, that is, of the Aden Protectorate and the Kingdom of the Yemen, has never been written and the travellers' tales of the Aden Protectorate and the historical records that do exist of the early history of the Yemen give no more than a glimpse of a period of history or of the authors' immediate surroundings. I do not propose to attempt to remedy this deficiency, but I must, for the proper understanding of my subject, give a brief historical outline of the events which led to the coming into existence of the Aden Protectorate in the form in which it was in 1931 when I first came to have personal acquaintance with that fascinating country. There has been no fundamental change in the form of the Protectorate since then, although as we shall see later, there has, of recent years, been considerable political and economic development.

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At about the time that these islands of ours were being conquered for the last time in their history by William the Norman, the Imam of the Yemen had overrun much of what is now the Western Aden Protectorate and was in effective control of the tribes between Lahej, Aden's near neighbour, and Loder the capital of the Audhali Sultanate. The Imam was not left in possession for very long, and the records show that in the latter half of the eleventh century the Abdalis of Lahej and the other tribes more remote from the Yemen border broke away from the Imamic control and once again became

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2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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independent. They remained independent until the Yemeni Imam was sufficiently strong internally to try again to expand the limits of his kingdom, but it was not until the middle of the fourteenth century that the Imam of the time was able to re-establish his control over Lahej.

A hundred years later the pendulum swung back again for a brief period, and we find the Imam of that time trying to crush an internal rebellion which seems to have had its origin in Lahej and was led by one Malik Ali and his brother. The Imam was unsuccessful and Malik Ali eventually established himself on the Imamic throne and the Yemen's control of the border tribes, including Lahej, was again established and continued until the middle of the sixteenth century when the Yemen was overrun by the Turks and it became a Province of the Ottoman Empire and remained as such for nearly one hundred years until the middle of the seventeenth century when, on the Turks evacuating the country, the Imam was able to re-establish his authority, not only in his own country but to some degree over the areas of the Protectorate adjacent to the Yemen. The magic hundred played its part again, and by the thirties of the eighteenth century disturbances in the Yemen itself weakened the authority of the Imam and gave an opportunity to the Sultans of Lahej, and indeed the other Protectorate tribes, to break away and once more become independent. A hundred years later and we came on the scene and there began to come into existence that series of Treaties which has established the Aden Protectorate as we know it at the present day.

This very brief historical sketch would not be complete without mentioning the second coming of the Turks, which occurred in the last century. They overran the Yemen, they divested the Imam of his temporal authority and once again they turned the country into a Turkish province. Not content with their gains in the Yemen they poured over into the Protectorate and in May 1872 were on the borders of Lahej but a short distance from the town of Aden itself. There they remained for some time and then withdrew back into the Yemen, but it is not clear what caused them to do so because

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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there does not seem to have been any offensive action on our part of sufficient magnitude to force them out of the Protectorate.

When I was searching for information about South-west Arabia, and it was only then that I realised how little had been written about that part of the world, I came on the following passage referring to this Turkish incursion in the only book published about Aden itself:

"Representations were at once made by Her Majesty's Government to the Porte who gave assurances that the troops would be withdrawn; but this was not done. . . ." (The troops in question were either Turkish regular soldiers or Turkish led Yemeni irregulars.) The account continued: ". . . the Government of India authorised the Resident to support the Lahej Sultan but not to attack the Turks. . . ." [1]

The Resident advanced into Lahej territory with a small armed force and the British and the Turks looked at each other for a period of seven months and then the Turks retired back into the Yemen. How often, in more recent years, have I been given precisely the same kind of contradictory instructions! Too often. Times may change, but the attitude of Government remains much the same and back-seat driving has been much facilitated by improved communications, with the result that nowadays the responsible officer on the spot either becomes so accustomed to referring to London that when in an emergency events outstrip even modern communications and he is required to use his own initiative, he is incapable of doing so and his "health" breaks down, or he refuses to submit to remote control, loses his temper, and "health" once again is invoked to explain his early retirement.

The important question is how was the Protectorate formed and why even to this day, when the Rulers of the Protectorate are under foreign domination, "British domination", have they always rejected the overtures of the Imams of the Yemen, who are like themselves Arabs and are, to a degree, their co-religionists. The answer to the second half of the question is that the Imam of the Yemen has always been, and still is, not

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[1] Hunter's *Statistical Account of the British Settlement of Aden*, 1877, p. 169.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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only the temporal head of that country but is the spiritual leader of the Zeidi sect, which is composed of those Shiahs who follow the teaching of Muhammed Ibn Zeid, an interpreter of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammed. The Imams trace their descent to Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and it is only of comparatively recent years that the Imamic leadership has changed in character from the primarily spiritual to the predominantly temporal, and even so, it has never lost the essential spiritual element.

The majority of the inhabitants of the Yemen are of the Sunni division of Islam and subscribe to the teachings of As Sha'afi, another renowned interpreter of the sayings of the Prophet. Thus successive Imams have maintained their temporal authority in their country with the aid of the religious minority, the tough Zeidi tribesmen of the Highlands. This they have done with remarkable success and even today the Sha'afi majority of the country have no real say in the government. From time to time the Sha'afis have striven to rid themselves of their Zeidi oppressors, but their success has never been more than temporary and partial and the Imams have, for their part, been quite ruthless in re-establishing their authority, and although they have had the prerogative of mercy it has seldom, if ever, been exercised. Politically and socially the Yemen has not advanced beyond the sixteenth century in Europe, and if one thinks for a moment about our own religious difficulties in this country at that period of history, it will not be difficult to understand the intense distrust which exists between the Zeidis and the Sha'afis, not only in the Yemen, but beyond the borders of that country in the Aden Protectorate where all the people are of the Sha'afi Sect of Islam. There you have the fundamental reason for the existence of the Aden Protectorate.

The Protectorate came into being by mutual agreement, and we were in effect invited to become the paramount power. It was not in any way the conquest of a primitive and defenceless people by an up-to-date Western power with modern armament. In 1839, when we had established ourselves in what is now the Colony of Aden, the tribes of the hinterland were,

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
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as they are to a large extent today, disunited, and in consequence, were in no position to resist the increasing power of the Yemen. The Imam of that time had settled his internal affairs, which had always been a brake on the territorial ambitions of the Imams, and was turning his attention to the establishment of his authority farther afield. Successfully to resist Yemen domination the tribes would have to unite or else ally themselves with a power capable of protecting them. Unity was at that time not practical politics so that there was, in fact, really no alternative but to find a big friend to protect them from the Zeidi bully. It was, therefore, with some relief that, once the initial shock of our boisterous arrival had passed, they turned to this new and undoubtedly powerful stranger for that protection which was vital to them if they were to escape domination by the Zeidis. Naturally enough it was the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood of Aden who were the first to enter into protective agreements, but gradually as our prestige spread fanwise through South-west Arabia, more and more tribes not under the immediate domination of the Imam of the Yemen, came into alliance with us, until by 1914 the Aden Protectorate had come into being in its present form.

We, for our part, were very ready to enter into these engagements with the tribes and for very nearly the same reason. We had but newly arrived in Aden and secured a foothold on the shore of Arabia and, following the practice which we had found to be so successful in India and which, to the surprise and alarm of the East India Company brought practically the whole of that sub-Continent under the British flag, were anxious to surround our new possession and its valuable harbour with friendly States which would act as a buffer between our property and any potential enemy from the landward side. Our motives were entirely selfish and our conduct remained so until this present century was well advanced.

The Treaties which were entered into between the Indian Government, acting as the agent for the paramount power the British Government, and the tribal leaders during this period were all in much the same form. The tribes undertook through their Rulers not to enter into negotiation with or to alienate

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

•175 their territory to any foreign power without the previous
648 permission of the Government of India. In return we undertook to protect them from external aggression. Those were the main clauses, but there were, of course, subsidiary clauses which differed from Treaty to Treaty and which related to freedom of access to each other's territory, the protection of trade routes and similar matters. The main object of the Treaties was protection, protection from the Yemen as far as the tribes were concerned, and protection from the Yemen and the tribes themselves as far as we were concerned.

As the years went by and the buffer grew in size as more and more States came into alliance, so did our responsibilities to the people of the area grow, although it took us nearly a hundred years to realise our obligations, which we have not yet adequately discharged.

642 The States are twenty-five in number, of which the Sultanate
631 of Lahej is the senior, not only by virtue of its importance, but also because it was the first to enter into treaty relations with Her Majesty's Government. They vary greatly in size from the 40,000 square miles of the Quaiti Sultanate of Shihr and Mukalla, to the few unproductive acres of the Sultan of Bir Ali, an insignificant little sea port. The Rulers, who are either Sultans or Sheikhs or Amirs, or even Naqibs—it makes no difference to the importance of the State what title is held by the Ruler—are all independent in so far as their internal authority is concerned, and the only curbs on their power are tradition and the degree of independence of the people themselves. This latter varies with the geographical position and the
[184] nature of the terrain of the State. In the Yafa Highlands, which
[641] are almost inaccessible, every tribesman is a law unto himself and pays little heed to the titular leader, the Upper Yafa Sultan, unless the land is in grave danger when they rally to him until the danger is passed. In the Lowlands and in the Southern plain where the States are more vulnerable, there is a greater degree of obedience by the tribesmen to the authority of their Ruler, and such is the case where tribal territory abuts on to the Yemen in open country; country where the fear of Zeidi raids is greatest.

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

Agent in the west of the Protectorate was a person of very determined character who reacted strongly to any encroachment of what he considered to be his kingdom, while the distinguished administrator at that time in the Hadhramaut was equally strong minded and had acquisitive tendencies; so in order to prevent a major war between these two distinguished officers a line had to be drawn, and they had to be instructed to keep inside their boundaries.

Many years ago the Aulaki had burst out of their hilly fastnesses and spread east and west through the length and breadth of the Protectorate, until their influence ran right up to the Yemen borders and they held even Lahej to ransom, while away in the east the Quaiti Sultanate suffered from their depredations. In the earliest days of South-west Arabia before the Christian era, it is probable that the Aulakis were the most powerful race that that country had ever produced, but like many other great nations they gradually declined in influence and authority until today they have little but their barren hills and their pride, the latter bolstered up by nebulous claims to tribute from their neighbours, which they can no longer enforce. Their pride was their greatest asset and at the same time their worst enemy: in their powerful and prosperous days it had driven them forward and in the days of their weakness it had torn them apart until the great Aulaki Confederation had dissolved into a maze of blood feuds which had laid waste the land upon which they had come to depend, and thereby impoverished the people.

The old Sheikh who ruled the Sheikhdom had come into treaty relation with us in 1904 and he was still alive, but he was too old to manage the affairs of his country, and his youngest son Abdullah had been chosen as Regent to rule in his name. Abdullah was a pleasant person with none of the strong characteristics of his brothers and he had been selected by the family council and the tribal leaders for that very reason. His eldest brother was too die-hard to be acceptable to the family or the tribes; the bedouin brother was not interested, and his stout brother preferred to be the power behind the throne rather than the occupant of the throne itself. The

2: Hickinbotham G-4, 5 (ca. 1931-ca. 1957)
1958 MM1 Aden MM1

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Labour Relations in the Colony

466

ONE of the problems with which I had to deal and the one which I, personally, found the most difficult and more of a strain than all the bickerings and scufflings in the Protectorate and the continual worry of strained relations with the Yemen, was labour relations in the Colony. To understand the problem a very brief sketch is essential of the history of labour from the time that we first arrived in Aden until the immediate post-war period.

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The invaders of Aden in 1839 came from India and brought with them Indian clerks and a few Indian artisans, and they not unnaturally looked to India for their future supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour. The local Arab was, by Indian standards, totally uneducated and seemed unlikely to take kindly to education, even if it was worth while for some effort to be made in that direction. The local article being thought unworthy of serious consideration, the practice of importing artisans and clerks from India to meet the ever-expanding demand for such workers, became the normal method of recruitment. Gradually a tradition was built up that the Arab would never be capable of skilled work and that such work was an Indian prerogative. The Indians themselves, short-sightedly, did nothing to discourage the belief.

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This dangerous state of affairs persisted until after the World War, partly because the Arabs remained uneducated and partly because the Indians were good workmen and their European masters did not wish for any change. Then the education of the Arabs was taken in hand seriously and they responded in a way which surprised even their most fervent champions. They

3 Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

very intense, though usually of short duration. The weather during July and August is frequently very hazy, and it is not uncommon for ships to pass quite close to Aden without picking up the land.

Meteorological records are maintained at the European General Hospital and the data are published in the Aden Colony Gazette weekly.

History

Aden has been a place of importance historically owing to its possession of the only good harbour situated on the main ocean trade route between Egypt and India and to the fact that it is easily defensible.

Prior to the discovery of the Cape route in the fifteenth century the trade followed much the same course as the main trade route between the East and the West does today, i.e. across the Indian Ocean to Aden, thence up the Red Sea and across Egypt to the Mediterranean. From the earliest times the great Empires of the world realised the importance of Aden. During the time of the Romans at least two endeavours were made by them to capture the Red Sea trade and they sent an unsuccessful expedition against Aden. The discovery of the Cape route at the end of the sixteenth century diverted the major portion of the trade from the old Red Sea route, and in consequence the port of Aden declined. Aden was attacked by the Portuguese in 1513 and 1516, and was for a time occupied by them. It was captured by the Turks in 1538 and remained in their hands about 100 years until the Yemen Arabs rebelled and drove them out. Aden thus passed under the Imams of Sana' who have never renounced their claim to it. In 1728 the Sultan of Lahej, the Ruler of the territory adjacent to Aden, revolted and established his independence, and included Aden in his Sultanate. The decline of Aden continued until its capture by the British in 1839, when it was only a village of 500 inhabitants. Financial negotiations with the Sultan of Lahej having failed, the plundering of an Indian ship on the coast near Aden resulted in an expedition being sent from Bombay by the East India Company under Major Bailey and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. The fortress was captured on 19th January, 1839, and Captain Haines became the first British Resident.

The replacement of sailing ships by steam vessels was one of the reasons which led to Aden's occupation by the British, and the revival of the Red Sea route and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 regained for the town its old importance. As a result of the increased prosperity of Aden since the British occupation the population has risen from 500 to 46,000. The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is primarily due to the fact that it is an important fuelling station, originally for coal and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade route to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's production centre in the Persian

3 Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1938) 1940 MM1 Aden MM1

Gulf, which enables oil to be supplied at favourable rates, and the consequent inducement to ships to call for bunkers has also led to an increase of transit trade to the East African and Red Sea ports.

PERIM

The first trace of the occupation of Perim Island goes back as far as 1738 when the French landed there after the bombardment of Mocha. It was not until 5th May, 1799, that the British took formal possession, but it is recorded that, owing to difficulties in maintaining a supply of water, they evacuated the island in September of that year.

Perim was reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, under instructions from Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Sir William Coghlan, Political Resident and Commander, Aden, and Lieutenant Templar in the "Mahi" was deputed to effect the occupation. The island was then placed under the control of an Assistant to the Political Resident at Aden. This arrangement continued until 1929, when the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent. On the closing down of the Perim Coal Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the Island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden, usually performing the journey by air.

II.—GOVERNMENT

Prior to the 1st April, 1932, the territory now comprising the Colony was administered by a Resident under the control of the Government of Bombay. From the 1st April, 1932, Aden became a Chief Commissionership, and control was transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Governor-General of India in Council, the Chief Executive Officer at Aden being styled Chief Commissioner, Resident and Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st April, 1937, Aden was constituted a Crown Colony and was removed from the control of the Government of India. The Colony is administered by a Governor, who is also Commander-in-Chief, aided by an Executive Council which at present comprises five members. The Council consists of the persons holding the offices of Political Secretary and Civil Secretary and such other persons as the Governor in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through the Secretary of State may from time to time appoint. At the present time, in addition to the ex-officio members, the Legal Adviser, the Finance Officer and the Chairman of the Port Trust and Settlement have been appointed to the Council. There is no Legislative Council.

Military Garrison

The Military Garrison of the Colony is under the command of an Air Officer Commanding.

There is a Naval Office in charge of the Naval Officer-in-Charge.

4:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1937) 1939 MM1 Aden MM1

from seaward and fairly cool. May, a part of June, and September are generally hot, damp, and airless. Sandstorms occur in the months of May, July and August. These come from a northerly direction usually a short time before sunset and blow very strongly at times up to 10 p.m., the air being so thick with sand that it is only possible to see a short distance, and the temperature falls. During the month of August dense mists occur at times and it is not possible to see across the harbour.

Meteorological records are maintained at the European General Hospital and the data are published in the Aden *Colony Gazette* weekly for the information of the public.

History.

Aden has been a place of importance historically owing to its possession of the only good harbour situated on the main ocean trade route between Egypt and India and to the fact that it is easily defensible. Prior to the discovery of the Cape route in the fifteenth century, the trade followed much the same course as the main trade route between the East and the West does to-day, i.e. across the Indian Ocean to Aden, thence up the Red Sea and across Egypt to the Mediterranean. From the earliest times the great Empires of the world realized the importance of Aden during this period, and during the time of the Romans at least two endeavours were made by them to capture the Red Sea trade and they sent an unsuccessful expedition against Aden.

The discovery of the Cape route at the end of the sixteenth century diverted the major portion of the trade from the old Red Sea route, and in consequence the port of Aden declined. Aden was attacked by the Portuguese in 1513 and 1516, captured by the Turks in 1538 and remained in their hands about 100 years until the Yemen Arabs rebelled and drove them out, Aden thus coming under the Imams of Sana', who have never renounced their claim to it. In 1728 the Sultan of Lahej, the ruler of the territory adjacent to Aden, revolted and established his independence and included Aden in his Sultanate. The decline of Aden continued until its capture by the British in 1839, when its village consisted of 500 inhabitants. Financial negotiations with the Sultan of Lahej having failed, the plundering of an Indian ship on the coast near Aden resulted in its capture by a successful expedition sent from Bombay by the East India Company under Major Bailey and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. The latter became the first Resident. The desire to establish coaling stations on trade routes, necessitated by the replacement of sailing ships by steamer, was one of the reasons which led to Aden's occupation by the British. The revival of the Red Sea route and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 regained for Aden its old importance. As a result of the increased prosperity of Aden since British occupation, the population has risen from 500 to 46,000. The modern commercial prosperity

4:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1937) 1939 MM1 Aden MM1

of Aden is based on the fact that it is a fuelling station, originally for coal and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main Eastern trade route to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's production centre in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused a general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Abyssinia, Somaliland and Africa.

Perim.

The first trace of the occupation of the Perim island goes back as far as 1738 when the French landed there, after the bombardment of Mocha. It was not until the 5th May, 1799, that the British took formal possession, but it is recorded that owing to difficulties in maintaining a supply of water they evacuated the island in the September of that year.

Perim was reoccupied in January, 1857, under instructions from Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, to Sir William Coghlan, Political Resident and Commander, Aden, and Lieutenant Templar in the *Mahi* was deputed to accomplish this reoccupation. The island was then placed under the control of an Assistant to the Political Resident, Aden. The Assistant Resident remained in control until 1929, when the Manager of the Perim Coal Company, Limited, was appointed Government Agent. On the closing down of the Perim Coal Company in Octo[illegible]6, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained on the island, and the Administrator makes regular visits generally performing the journey by air.

II.—GOVERNMENT.

Previously to the 1st April, 1932, the territory now comprising the Colony was administered by a Resident under the control of the Government of Bombay. From the 1st April, 1932, Aden became a Chief Commissionership, and control was transferred from the Government of Bombay to the Governor-General of India in Council, the Chief Executive Officer being styled Chief Commissioner, Resident and Commander-in-Chief. On the 1st April, 1937, Aden was constituted a Crown Colony and was removed from the control of the Government of India. The Colony is administered by a Governor, who is also Commander-in-Chief, aided by an Executive Council which at present comprises five members. The Council consists of the persons holding the offices of Political Secretary and Civil Secretary and such other persons as the Governor, in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through the Secretary of State may from time to time appoint. At the present time, in addition to the *ex-officio* members, the Legal Adviser, the Finance Officer, and the Chairman of the Port Trust and Settlement have been appointed to the Council. There is no Legislative Council.

Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden MM1

and rather flat in appearance; its highest point, about a mile northward of its southern extremity, is 214 feet high. The surface of the island is grooved with dry water-courses and covered with coarse grass and stunted shrubs, the sub-soil being sand and conglomerate coral. Perim Harbour and False Bay, a small shoal-light, lie on the southern side of the island. It possesses a good small harbour on the south-west side, with an entrance 860 yards in breadth, and an emergency landing-ground on the north side.

The climate of Aden Colony is not unhealthy, though the heat and humidity are trying between April and October. During the north-east monsoon—that is, between the latter part of October and April—the climate is generally cool and pleasant. During the south-west monsoon—that is, in July and August—strong winds prevail which give some relief from the damp airless heat of May, June and September. Sandstorms are apt to occur in the months of June, July and August. These come from a northerly direction, usually a short time before sunset, and are often very intense, though of short duration. The weather during July and August is frequently very hazy, and it is not uncommon for ships to pass quite close to Aden without picking up the land.

The rainfall is extremely scanty, and in some years non-existent, but as much as 8 inches have been known to fall in a year.

Chapter 2: History

Aden has been a place of importance historically owing to its possession of the only good harbour situated on the main ocean trade-route between Egypt and India and to the fact that it is easily defensible. Before the discovery of the Cape route in the fifteenth century, the trade followed much the same course as the main trade-route between the East and the West does to-day, across the Indian Ocean to Aden, thence up the Red Sea and across Egypt to the Mediterranean. There can be little doubt that in Roman and earlier times Aden was a port of considerable significance, although its relative importance compared with other towns on the Arabian coast is not at present known. The discovery of the Cape route at the end of the sixteenth century diverted the major portion of the trade from the old Red Sea route, and in consequence the port of Aden declined. Aden was attacked by the Portuguese in 1513 and 1516, captured by the Turks in 1538 and remained in their hands about 100 years, when the Yemen Arabs rebelled and drove the Turks out; Aden thus came under the Imams of Sana, who never have renounced their claim to it. In 1728 the Sultan of Lahej, the ruler of the territory adjacent to Aden, revolted and established his independence, and included Aden in his Sultanate.

The decline of Aden continued until its capture by the British in 1839, when its village consisted of 500 inhabitants. Financial negotiations with the Sultan of Lahej having failed, the plundering of an Indian ship

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden MM1

on the coast near Aden resulted in the capture of Aden by a successful expedition sent from Bombay by the East Indian Company under Major Bailey and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. The latter became the first Resident. The desire to establish coaling-stations on trade-routes necessitated by the replacement of sailing-ships by steamers was one of the reasons which led to Aden's occupation by the British. The revival of the Red Sea route and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 regained for Aden its old importance. As a result of the increased prosperity of Aden since British occupation, the civil population excluding military has risen from 500 to 80,516 (according to the census taken in October, 1946). The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is based on the fact that it is a fuelling-station, originally for coal, and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade route to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's production centre in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Ethiopia, Somaliland and Africa.

Perim Island was first occupied by the French in 1738. In 1799 the British took formal possession, but evacuated the island in the same year. It was later reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, and placed under the control of an Assistant Political Resident at Aden. In 1929 the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent, but, on the closing down of that Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden, usually by air.

Chapter 3 : Administration

Since 1937, when the territory was taken from the control of the Government of India and put under the Colonial Office, the constitution of Aden has been that of a Crown Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council.

Under the royal instructions, the Executive Council of the Colony consists of the officer lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed by His Majesty by any instructions or warrants under his sign manual and signet, or as the Governor may, by an instrument under the public seal of the Colony, appoint in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through one of his principal Secretaries of State, or as the Governor may provisionally appoint in the manner provided in the royal instructions.

Whenever upon any special occasion the Governor desires to obtain the advice of any person within the Colony relating to affairs therein, he may summon such person, for such special occasions, as an Extraordinary Member of the Council.

6:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden MM1

and False Bay, a small sh[illegible] light, lie on the southern side of the island. 504
It possesses a good small harbour on the south-west side, with an entrance 860 yards in breadth [illegible] emergency landing-ground on the north side.

The climate of [illegible] is not unhealthy, though the heat and 132
humidity are trying [illegible]il and October. During the north-east monsoon—that is, be[illegible]he latter part of October and April—the climate is generally cool and pleasant. During the south-west monsoon —that is, in July and August—strong winds prevail which give some relief from the damp airless heat of May, June and September. Sand-storms are apt to occur in the months of June, July and August. These come from a northerly direction, usually a short time before sunset, and are often very intense, though of short duration. The weather during July and August is frequently very hazy, and it is not uncommon for ships to pass quite close to Aden without picking up the land.

The rainfall is extremely scanty, and in some years non-existent, but as much as eight inches have been known to fall in a year.

Chapter 2: History

Aden has been a place of importance historically owing to its possession 175 ●
of the only good harbour situated on the main ocean trade-route between Egypt and India and to the fact that it is easily defensible. Before the discovery of the Cape route in the fifteenth century, the trade followed much the same course as the main trade-route between the East and the West does to-day, across the Indian Ocean to Aden, thence up the Red Sea and across Egypt to the Mediterranean. There can be little doubt that in Roman and earlier times Aden was a port of considerable significance, although its relative importance compared with other towns on the Arabian coast is not at present known. The discovery of the Cape route at the end of the sixteenth century diverted the major portion of the trade from the old Red Sea route, and in consequence the port of Aden declined. Aden was attacked by the Portuguese in 1513 and 1516, captured by the Turks in 1538 and remained in their hands about 100 years, when the Yemen Arabs rebelled and drove the Turks out; Aden thus came for a period under the Imams of Sana. In 1728 the Sultan of Lahej, the ruler of the territory adjacent to Aden, revolted and established his independence, and included Aden in his Sultanate.

The decline of Aden continued until its capture by the British in 1839, when its village consisted of 500 inhabitants. The plundering of an Indian ship on the coast near Aden led to the capture of Aden by a successful expedition sent from Bombay by the East Indian Company under Major Bailey and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. The latter became the first Resident. The need to establish coaling-stations on trade-routes necessitated by the replacement of sailing-ships by steamers was one of the reasons which led to Aden's occupation by the British. The revival 999

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden MM1

132 The climate of Aden Colony is not unhealthy, though the heat and humidity are trying between April and October. During the north-east monsoon—that is, between the latter part of October and April—the climate is generally cool and pleasant. During the south-west monsoon—that is, in July and August—strong winds prevail which give some relief from the damp airless heat of May, June and September. Sand storms are apt to occur in the months of June, July and August. These come from a northerly direction, usually a short time before sunset, and are often very intense, though of short duration. The weather during July and August is frequently very hazy, and it is not uncommon for ships to pass quite close to Aden without picking up the land.

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Chapter 2: History

504 ● 175 Aden has been a place of importance historically owing to its possession of the only good harbour situated on the main ocean trade-route between Egypt and India and to the fact that it is easily defensible. Before the discovery of the Cape route in the fifteenth century, the trade followed much the same course as the main trade-route between the East and the West does today, across the Indian Ocean to Aden, thence up to the Red Sea and across Egypt to the Mediterranean. There can be little doubt that in Roman and earlier times Aden was a port of considerable significance, although its relative importance compared with other towns on the Arabian coast is not at present known. The discovery of the Cape route at the end of the sixteenth century diverted the major portion of the trade from the old Red Sea route, and in consequence the port of Aden declined. Aden was attacked by the Portuguese in 1513 and 1516, captured by the Turks in 1538 and remained in their hands about 100 years, when the Yemen Arabs rebelled and drove the Turks out ; Aden thus came for a period under the Imams of Sana. In 1728 the Sultan of Lahej, the ruler of the territory adjacent to Aden, revolted and established his independence, and included Aden in his sultanate.

The decline of Aden continued until its capture by the British in 1839, when its village consisted of 500 inhabitants. The plundering of an Indian ship on the coast near Aden led to the capture of Aden by a successful expedition sent from Bombay by the East India Company under Major Bailey and Captain Haines of the Indian Navy. The latter became the first Resident. The need to establish coaling-stations on trade-routes because of the replacement of sailing-ships by steamers was one of the reasons which led to the occupation of Aden by the British. The revival of the Red Sea route and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 regained for Aden its old importance. As a result of the increased prosperity of Aden since British occupation, the civil

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden mm1

population excluding military has risen from 500 to 100,000 (according to the latest estimate).

The modern commercial prosperity of Aden is based on the fact that it is a refuelling station, originally for coal, and now for coal and oil. It is nearer than any other large port on the main eastern trade route to the oil companies' production centres in the Persian Gulf. The fact that ships call at Aden for fuelling has caused a general increase in trade, and it is the distributing centre for trade to and from Arabia, Ethiopia, Somaliland and the African Coast.

Perim Island was first occupied by the French in 1738. In 1799 the British took formal possession, but evacuated the island in the same year. It was later reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, and placed under the control of an Assistant Political Resident at Aden. In 1929 the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent, but on the closing down of that Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden.

Chapter 3: Administration

Since 1937, when the territory was taken from the control of the Government of India and put under the Colonial Office, the constitution of Aden has been that of a Crown Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council.

Under the royal instructions, the Executive Council of the Colony consists of the officers lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary, of Attorney General and of Financial Secretary and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed by His Majesty by any instructions or warrants under his sign manual and signet, or as the Governor may, by an instrument under the public seal of the Colony, appoint in pursuance of instructions from His Majesty through one of his principal Secretaries of State, or as the Governor may provisionally appoint in the manner provided in the royal instructions.

Whenever upon any special occasion the Governor desires to obtain the advice of any person within the Colony relating to affairs therein, he may summon such person, for such special occasions, as an Extra-ordinary Member of the Council.

Under the provisions of the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order 1944, a Legislative Council was constituted for the Colony of Aden The Council was inaugurated in January, 1947, and consists of the Governor as President, 4 ex-officio members, not more than 4 official members and not more than 8 unofficial members. A list of members of the Executive and Legislative Councils is attached as an appendix at page 58.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden MM1

The climate of Aden Colony is not unhealthy, though the heat and humidity are trying between April and October. During the north-east monsoon—that is, between the latter part of October and April—the climate is generally cool and pleasant. During the south-west monsoon—that is, in July and August—strong winds prevail which give some relief from the damp airless heat of May, June and September. Sand storms are apt to occur in the months of June, July and August. These come from a northerly direction, usually a short time before sunset, and are very intense, though of short duration. The weather during July and August is frequently very hazy, and it is not uncommon for ships to pass quite close to Aden without picking up the land.

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8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden MM1

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631 British took formal possession, but evacuated the island in the same year. It was later reoccupied by the British in January, 1857, and placed under the control of an Assistant Political Resident at Aden. In 1929 the Manager of the Perim Coal Company was appointed Government Agent, but on the closing down of that Company in October, 1936, the Commissioner of Police, Aden, was appointed Administrator of the island. A police detachment is maintained at Perim, and the Administrator makes regular visits from Aden.

Chapter 3: Administration

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643 Government of India and put under the Colonial Office, the consti-
645 tution of Aden has been that of a Crown Colony. The Colony is administered by a Governor, assisted by an Executive Council.

Under the Royal Instructions, the Executive Council of the Colony consists of the officers lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary, of Attorney General and of Financial Secretary and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed by Her Majesty by any instructions or warrants under her sign manual and signet, or as the Governor may, by an instrument under the public seal of the Colony, appoint in pursuance of instructions from Her Majesty through one of her principal Secretaries of State, or as the Governor may provisionally appoint in the manner provided in the Royal Instructions.

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646 Under the provisions of the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order, 1944, a Legislative Council was constituted for the Colony of Aden. The Council was inaugurated in January, 1947, and consists of the Governor as President, four *ex officio* members, not more than four official members and not more than eight unofficial members.

161 Aden Colony also includes Perim Island which is administered by
226 an Administrator who is also the Commissioner of Police, Aden. The
625 population of the island is 381. The majority of the islanders are
659 fishermen, and dried fish is exported to Aden. There is a small police detachment in the island together with medical and lighthouse staff.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Aden MMI

Britain provide for post-secondary education, but it is hoped eventually to develop Aden College to university standard. Working-class houses were being built to replace insanitary houses of matting, but the shortage of housing remained one of the most important problems. In 1952 a scheme which had been under discussion in Aden for five years, to supplement the existing civil hospital of 350 beds with a new 600-bed hospital, received Colonial Office approval. However, rising costs and delays in the supply of equipment have caused the postponement of plans to provide water-borne sewerage and to expand the electricity supply and the automatic telephone system, which were desirable to keep pace with the large increase in population.

Cable & Wireless Ltd provide cable and telegraph communication with all parts of the world and operate a radio telegraph station working to the countries of the southern Red Sea area. In 1950 a radio-telephone service was opened to Great Britain and the three British East African territories. In 1950 BOAC made Aden the base for its Red Sea services and formed a subsidiary organization called Aden Airways; regular services are available to all the surrounding territories by these and other air lines. The terminal building of a civil airport is still under construction. The garrison is under the command of the senior RAF Officer, Aden. Apart from RAF personnel the Aden levies, which are recruited locally and number some 2,000 men, are available for service in the Colony and on special duties in the Protectorate.

History

In Himyarite times and earlier, traffic in incense gave considerable prosperity to what is now Aden Protectorate. The main incense road to the Mediterranean, through Sana, Mecca, and Petra, started from Husn al-Ghorab (Raven Castle), a tiny rock-island off the Hadramaut coast, some 200 miles east of modern Aden. This land route survived with diminishing importance until about the sixteenth century. Towards the end of that century English traders began to look East, and in 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the East India Company. Its primary object was to establish British trade in India in competition with their maritime rivals, the Portuguese and Dutch. As a first exploit an expedition was dispatched to Aden and the Red Sea, but, failing to open up a factory at Socotra, it was withdrawn in 1608. Next year a second expedition reached Aden, but Turkish permission to establish a factory was refused. In 1614 the Dutch, who had formed a rival East India Company

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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175 in 1602, were similarly refused trading permits in Aden, and had to withdraw the factory they had already set up at Shihr, farther to the east on the Hadramaut coast. They persisted, however, and in 1663 the first shipment of coffee was sent to Holland. This trade survived for another eighty years, by which time the Dutch had closed down their factories. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries other European maritime Powers were also exploring Arabian and Red Sea trading possibilities. But, although the Turkish garrison, behind the strong walls of the fortress, kept the Arabs disarmed and in subjugation, Turkish power weakened steadily and by the end of the eighteenth century was purely nominal.

Napoleon's designs on India made Aden strategically important to the British, and in 1799 they occupied the island of Perim. But after a few months, lack of water forced a withdrawal to Aden, where the British forces were hospitably received, during a short stay, by the Sultan of Lahej, who was at that time its overlord. A commercial treaty was concluded with him in 1802.

The introduction of steam again attracted British attention to south-west Arabia, where a coaling station was needed. Two alternative sites at Mukalla and Sira Island, lying just off Aden Peninsula, proved unsuitable, and negotiations for the purchase of Socotra were well advanced when, in 1837, after an attack on the passengers and crew of a wrecked British ship near Aden, relations with the Sultan of Lahej became strained. Eventually, on 16 January 1839, a British naval force bombarded and captured the town after the Sultan had fled to Lahej. Peace was signed a month later, guaranteeing the Sultan a yearly stipend of $6,000, but it was not until 1857, when the last of five successive attacks on the port had been repulsed, that relations were finally put on a permanently satisfactory basis. Since then Lahej has been attacked more than once from the north. In 1873, and again in the First World War, when the hinterland of Aden was overrun for nearly four years, it was a case of Turkish aggression in support of the territorial claims of the Imam of Yemen. Later the Imam himself sought to prove these claims by force, but on each occasion the protecting Power intervened in the interests of its allies. In 1918 the Imam had refused to recognize the frontier agreed upon between Great Britain and Turkey before the war, which left a buffer region of British-protected tribes between the Aden Protectorate and his territories, but in 1934 agreement was reached in principle by the Anglo-Yemeni Treaty.[1]

[1] RIIA, *Documents on International Affairs, 1934*, p. 455.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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Continuing friction was sharpened when British geologists prospected unsuccessfully for oil in part of the disputed territory. In 1949 the RAF bombed a fort which Yemeni troops were building on territory claimed by the Sharif of Baihan, a ruler within the Western Aden Protectorate. A new Anglo-Yemeni Treaty of 1951[1] proposed to settle the frontier dispute by means of a joint commission. In April 1952, however, the Sultan Fadl Abdul Karim of Lahej (the most important state of the Western Aden Protectorate) summarily executed two of his cousins and, when 'invited' by the Governor of Aden to go there for medical treatment pending an independent judicial inquiry, fled to the Yemen. The Yemen Government immediately protested against the temporary occupation by Aden Protectorate Levies of Lahej town (which lies thirty miles from the Yemen frontier), on the grounds that the Yemen 'had vital interests in the stability of that area'.[2] A council of the tribal leaders of Lahej unanimously declared Fadl Abdul-Karim deposed in favour of his younger brother, the Aden Protectorate Government having imposed as a condition of his election that he should accept a resident adviser as a precaution against the irregularities which had occurred under Fadl Abdul-Karim.[3] The latter meanwhile continued to protest to the Arab League against his deposition, claiming that Lahej had always enjoyed autonomy and connecting the Aden Government's action with AIOC's proposal to build its refinery.[4]

Kamaran Island, lying off the Yemen coast 200 miles north of Perim, was an Ottoman quarantine station for pilgrims travelling to Mecca from the East. British forces occupied it in 1915; and when the Turkish Republic renounced its sovereignty over the island in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), its status became indeterminate; but it continued to be administered by the Governor of Aden and to be available for use as a quarantine station.

THE PROTECTORATE

The area of the Western Protectorate is approximately 42,000 square miles and of the Eastern Protectorate 70,000, Aden Colony being a small enclave (75 square miles) in the territory of the latter. Arable land is estimated at only one-third per cent of the whole, and established pastures and meadows are unknown, the bulk of the area being desert or steppe, which pro-

[1] Cmd. 8590 (1952).
[2] *The Times*, 23 April 1952.
[3] *Mideast Mirror*, 11 October 1952, p. 25.
[4] *Bourse Egyptienne*, 10 and 25 June 1952; cf. *The Times*, 27 October 1951, 4 April 1952.

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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Buried under all the politics the Hadhramaut is a cultured country

It has far more culture than the Western Aden Protectorate, and of indigenous Arab culture, more than Aden. The outlook of Mukalla and Shihr is commercial, but recent advances in education and the provision of clubs, the organization of public debates and so on, is spreading culture of a suitable kind. The driving force behind this movement is largely local, but great assistance has been given by the Sudan Government in the provision of teachers and by the British Council and His Majesty's Government in subsidizing the intermediate school. Arab culture flourishes at a fairly high level in the Wadi Hadhramaut itself, where there are religious academies of old standing and where, when you go to a dinner-party, poetry and philosophy are commonly talked. The Wahidi country and the other tribal areas have no culture to compare with this, though almost everywhere there are seiyids and mansabs who have kept alight the torch of learning since Ahmed bin Isa al Mohajir, the ancestor of all the seiyids, came to the Hadhramaut and started the work which his descendants have carried on for over 1,000 years.

The Colony of Aden

Lastly, Aden itself. No doubt many of you are familiar with its general appearance. Everybody who sees it is struck with its natural grandeur, which, however desolate and forbidding, forms a fitting setting for one of the great fortresses of our Eastern Empire. After a visit ashore one is left with a feeling of depression at the general shoddiness of man's handiwork, and the shoddiness is even more depressing when one realizes that it is entirely due to British work and influence. All over the Yemen and the two protectorates you find towns and villages that provide pictures worth photographing. Probably many of you have seen Miss Stark's book of pictures, *Seen in the Hadhramaut*, and if you know Aden will agree that it would be a waste of film to photograph it.

This was not always the case, and it is worth while reading descriptions of previous Adens.

As you probably know, Aden and Eden are the same word, but I won't try to persuade you that Aden was once the fairest garden of all. Nevertheless, the Eden mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel was no doubt our Aden and so in his time it may have been a fair city. Apostrophizing Tyre and Sidon, the prophet included it amongst the great marts of the then known world which traded with them :

> " Haran and Canneh and Eden, the merchants of Sheba,
> Asshur and Chilmad were thy merchants."

What the early Aden looked like we do not know. In the first century it had suffered destruction. The Periplus says :

". . . there is Eudaemon Arabia, a village by the shore, also of the Kingdom of Charibael, and having convenient anchorages, and watering-places, sweeter and better than those at Ocelis; it lies at the entrance of a bay, and the land recedes from it. . . . But not long before our own time Charibael destroyed the place."

But this did not prevent a new and worthy Aden arising. Ibn Batuta,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut
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175 who visited it in the thirteenth century, does not describe it closely, but gives an idea of its importance in the following passage:

"It is enclosed by mountains, and you can enter by one side only. It is a large town, but has neither corn nor trees, nor fresh water, except from reservoirs made to catch the rain water; for other drinking water is at a great distance from the town. The Arabs often prevent the townspeople coming to fetch it until the latter have come to terms with them, and paid them a bribe in money or clothes. The heat at Aden is great. It is the port frequented by the people from India, and great ships come thither from Kunbayat, Tana, Kaulan, Fandaraina, Shaliat, Manjarur, Fakanur, Hinaur, Sindabur, etc. There are Indian merchants residing in the city, and Egyptian merchants as well."

Being an Arab, perhaps its beauties did not strike him in the same way as they struck the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa in 1518:

". . . Passing by these we arrive at the populous and wealthy city of Aden, which belongs to the Moors and has its own King. This city has a right good haven and an exceeding great traffic in goods of importance. It is a fine town with lofty houses of stone and mortar, flat-roofed, with many tall windows; it is well laid out in streets and surrounded with walls, towers and bastions, with battlements after our fashion. This city is on a point between the mountains and the sea. The mountain is cut through on the mainland side, so that there is no way of going out save by one passage only which they can use; on no other side can they come in or go out. On the upper part of this ridge, whereon the city lies, are many small castles, very fair to behold, which can be seen from the sea."

An idea of the place as it was then can be derived from a sixteenth century wood engraving. Sir Henry Yule commented on it as follows:

"It will seem absurd, especially to those who knew Aden in the early days of our occupation, and no doubt some of the details are extravagant, but the general impression is quite consonant with that derived from the description of De Barros and Andres Corsali: 'In site and aspect from the seaward,' says the former, 'the city forms a beautiful object, for besides the part which lies along the shore, with its fine walls and towers, its many public buildings and rows of houses rising aloft in many stories, with terraced roofs, you have all that ridge of mountain facing the sea and presenting to its very summit a striking picture of the operations of Nature, and still more of the industry of man.' This historian says that the prosperity of Aden increased on the arrival of the Portuguese in those seas, for the Mussulman traders from Jedda and the Red Sea ports now dreaded these Western corsairs, and made Aden an entrepôt, instead of passing it by as they used to do in days of unobstructed navigation. This prosperity, however, must have been of very brief duration."

By the time the next description I have been able to trace was written, the Turks had destroyed the place, though there were still traces of its former glory. Writing in 1609, John Jourdain says:

"This cittie of Aden hath in former time been a famous and stronge place, but at present is ruinated and destroyed by the Turks. There hath bene very faire buildings in it, as by the remainders of the faire houses which are lefte may be seene, falling to the ground for want of repayringe.

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There are in this cittie yett remayneinge many Arabs of the poorer sorte, which are but as slaves to the Turke. This cittie is walled round with a stone wall, very stronge, and hath in it three very stronge gates, vizt. one on the north side, with yren grates to take up and downe at their pleasure, and within this gate there are twoe other gates, one a prettie distance one within another; these two gates are of timber, with great nayles as thicke as they can stand; and the reason why this gate is stronger than the other is because this way is the easiest way for any enemie to assault the cittie, having noe other good entrance but over rocks or by the sea. Under their castles on the south side there is annother gate; but this gate is commonlie kept fast, because that way there is noe recourse of people, because it is towards the mountains, where there is noe travelling. The third gate is toward the sea, which is towards the west, by the castell, which is without the towne, upon the top of the iland. All the gates have a guard kept in them naight and daie. The towne is cittuated in a valley envyronned aboute with craggie mountaines, except at the north side, where the three gates are; and on the mountaines there are castells and watch howses round aboute, with ordinance in them, and watch kept in all of them, although with fewe men, for that they are scituated in such stronge places that one man may keepe out twenty. All these forts are within falcon shott of the towne and doth command the whole cittie. . . ."

Even a hundred years later, 1709, Aden was still impressive, as can be gathered from the description by La Rocque:

"Aden is seated at the Foot of high mountains, which surround it almost on all sides. There are five or six Forts on the Tope of them, with Curtains, and a great many other Fortifications at the Necks of the Mountains. A fair Aqueduct conveys from thence the Waters into a great Canal, or Reservatory, built about three quarters of a mile from the City, which supplies the inhabitants with very good water. . . .

"The place is encompass'd with Walls, which are at present in a bad Condition enough; especially towards the sea where nevertheless there are some Plattforms at certain distances, with five or six Batteries of Brass Canon, some of which carry a Ball of sixty Pounds weight. . . .

"I say nothing about the Inside of this Town, which is considerably big, and where there are to be seen many fine Houses of two Stories, and Terrass'd on Top, but with all, many Ruins and decay'd buildings. 'Tis easy to perceive by what remains of it, and the advantagiousness of the Situation that Aden was formerly a famous Town, and of great importance, very strong, and the principal Bulwark of the Happy Arabia. . . .

"I must confess, that there are not to be seen of the kind, fairer Stoves and Baths than those of this Town; they are all lin'd with Marble, or Jaspar, and cover'd with a fair Dome, through which the Light comes, which is adorn'd within-side with Galleries, supported by magnificent Columns. All the Building is perfectly well divided into Chambers, Closets, and other vaulted Apartments, which all meet at the principal Hall of the Dome. . . ."

That was the final end of the impressive aspect of Aden. Just before the British occupation—1835—Wellsted wrote:

"All that remains of the former city are a few minarets, about a

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut
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175 hundred houses, and some disjointed remnants of its walls, the rest being occupied by tombs, mounds, and heaps of rubbish, roofless walls of older dwellings, or the wretched habitations of the present residents."

And in 1838 Haines the first Resident said:

"The little village (formerly the great city) of Aden is now reduced to the most exigent condition of poverty and neglect. In the reign of Constantine this town possessed unrivalled celebrity, for its impenetrable fortifications, its flourishing commerce, and the glorious haven it offered to vessels from every quarter of the world. But how lamentable is the present contrast. With scarcely a vestige of its former proud superiority, the traveller sees and values it only for its capabilities, and regrets the barbarous cupidity of that Government, under whose injudicious management it has fallen so low."

In 1877, Captain Hunter, in his description of British Aden, says:

"At present the town of Aden consists of about 2,000 whitewashed houses built of stone and mud, divided into streets and lanes; it is nearly 1,400 yards broad. Many of the houses are double-storied, but none are noteworthy for their architecture. The whole town has been rebuilt since the British occupation. . . .

The only building of any pretension in the Crater is the Court-house and Treasury office; the barracks are commodious but not handsome; the Protestant church, situated on a hill, has some slight claim to honourable mention. The mess-houses of the two regiments stationed in the Crater are substantial and commodious buildings. . . ."

From then on travellers became more frequent, and I quote only Walter B. Harris in 1893:

"What a scene of desolation and dreariness Aden presents to the newcomer! And how soon one gets to like the place in spite of it all! A background of dreary blackish rock, a sandy road, half a dozen rickety gharies under the shelter of a hideous iron-roofing, with sleepy little ponies and still more sleepy Somali drivers; a whitewashed domed saint's tomb, with an apology for a garden on each side, in which a few weary-looking plants were trying to appear green under a thick coating of dust and a sweltering sun; a long crescent of badly (designed) houses, with the exception of the handsome Aden Bank buildings, faced by an expanse of sand and black palings—and that is Steamer Point, as one first sees it."

And Colonel Jacob, in 1923, wrote:

". . . but Aden is still fifty years behind the times. The apathy of Government is visible in this settlement. . . .

"There has been but little system or plan in the erection of buildings. There is scarcely one building in Aden of architectural beauty. An expert once landed and gave us hints, but these have not been carried out."

175 361 What a depressing thought it is that we who have done so much in the East have been guilty of building anything like the modern Aden. You will have gathered from the extracts I have read that we knew well enough what it was like of old, and we knew well enough what beautiful cities the Arabs round us were capable of building. Even if we had merely kept to the lay-out Haines made and encouraged builders from the Yemen and the Hadhramaut to do the rest, we should have had a town with beauty

* [See preceding pages -- Analyst]

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut : ...
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and character and worthy of the grandeur of its setting, even if from a modern point of view is was not a perfect town. What the place needs is a plan for gradual rebuilding, with due regard to the architecture of the region and to its own needs.

For Aden will probably always be an important commercial centre, as it has been since the days of Ezechiel, and it will no doubt always be an imperial fortress. From the former aspect it needs replanning. It is ridiculous, for instance, that goods imported for re-export, such as skins and coffee, should be carried from the harbour up the pass into Aden town and then carried back again after repacking. From a fortress point of view the shoddy buildings of Tarshein and Morbat need replacing with something more worthy. Why, for instance, it is necessary to have pent roofs, the development of a rainy country, in a country where flat roofs are required, is a mystery. But the roofs are a minor matter, the buildings are in themselves and from any point of view hideous.

But it is not of the commercial or military aspects of Aden I wish to speak, nor need I say anything about the government and life of the colony itself. The colony is year by year recovering from the long period during which the declared policy was to consider the garrison as the only part of Aden that mattered, and not to spend money and effort on the people. Since it became a colony, Aden has accumulated substantial surplus balances, and once hostilities are over great development of social services can be undertaken.

But it is of Aden as the potential culture centre of the Southern Red Sea and Gulf of Aden area that I should like to speak. Willy-nilly, since the time of its capture Aden started to play a part in the affairs of its neighbours. Before that time, such contacts as there were with South Arabia were conducted through the Government of Bombay and the Government of Mauritius. Gradually the protectorate was built up, as I have described, the chiefs were entertained, and as the commerce of Aden redeveloped, the town began to be the market of the Western Aden Protectorate, the Yemen and British Somaliland. It is now, alas, regarded as the acme of what the British think good. Aden has in the past been an educational centre despite itself. It just could not help it, because of its geographical position.

It is quite clear that anything Aden has better than its neighbours, must attract the latter to it. In the past the attraction has been mainly trade, though medical facilities have attracted many, and even the wretched education which it offered in the past has been used.

In 1935 a small boarding school for thirty-six selected pupils, mainly the sons of chiefs, was started, and that was the first active attempt to offer something educative to the people of the protectorate. Its avowed object is to help in the production of more enlightened chiefs, and, though roughly it only provides primary schooling, it has done definite good and has become a success.

As soon as the war is over the British Council will be opening what will eventually be a secondary school, mainly for boys from the protectorate and the Yemen, the Lord Lloyd College. Possibly later on it will attain university status.